192 sources of the latter type in English."
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[13] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental
197 prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation of words by incremental affixation
192 [193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[12] pacahto?i? *pump (raise water forcefully with the hands)* [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn (turned inside out by heat)* [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aiki? *bicycle (make one's self go with the feet)* [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -ki, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [11] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[12] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [13] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p.222-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kɪtūhkapɪ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tɪ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

[191] [563] [563]

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kɪ is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tïe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

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[108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 58 (London, 1841).

[p. 232-B]

825 pacikwasi? *bare tail*; pïwïya?ïno·hr *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: parú·kU *water animal* (?); tu?pa?wehnï? *black hanging down (from the cheeks)*; cuhniwi?A *bone penis*.

Mourning Dove: ?eka?omë? *red legs*; pasahó·? (Possibly related to pasapï *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); ku?ewó·?; na?yanimaitï *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, wo?woki? *barker*, in addition to the usual [552] word for *dog*, sari·?, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: po?ro? (from Spanish, *puerco*); ho·kï (from English, *hog*); *muvipo?ro? (*nose* + po?ro?); munua? *nose mover*.

Mule: mu·ra? (from Spanish, *mula*); to?moci? (from to?mocï *sharp-pointed hoof*); mï·wari?ipï (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.).

Elephant: ?eni?inï·? *grey animal*; mu?kwipuna? *nose curled up*; mú·pichatïnó·wapï *carries things for mupic*[188] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: ko·ko?; ko·korá?a·?; ta·ya?ke? *dawn crier (rooster)*; ?ona?ai? *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 5.1. Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[188] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

[p. 240-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English, while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few Comanche descendants of Mexican captives speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

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121 [191] [177] The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is probably a fairly reliable index of his relative acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[189a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

[113] [189a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in
124 speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[108] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
[177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[109] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[108] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White no'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [109] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

[p. 241-B]

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelesaly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. 191 794 Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few 191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger [195] Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

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sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipɪ̨ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pɪ̨, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapɪ̨, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipɪ̨, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipɪ̨ *groin milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[16] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

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Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[17] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[16] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[17] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

(113)

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangential relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and slave or servant, missionary and convert, or trader and native seems necessary for the formation of a pidgin or creolized language. Such a relationship never held between the Comanche and Whites for any length of time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
191 steadily eclipsed by English which today has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to function as a living language. The constant contact with Whites, the teaching of English in the schools and, due to the fact that the Comanche live on scattered allotments, the lack of an integrated community or tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the evanescence of the language. English is the language of the dominant culture, the language through which one gets on in the world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally functioning part that remains of the old Comanche culture. Other traits are gone, empty and broken forms, or compromises with the new. Comanche today affords ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity of language in the face of pressure from a dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship terminology,[142] represent a segment of culture where custom and language are virtually inseparable, and it seems especially appropriate in a study of linguistic acculturation to describe the effects of contacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for comparison between the old and new practices,

[142] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new
177 terms are those for material aspects of White culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
● 191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

[p. 251-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 199 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 199 602 [167] 582 588 [684] patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 179 602

/page 33 continued/

younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

/34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1878, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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These young Indians had spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horseback. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the second or third time they came to the store after their last year in school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem-

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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
241 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but
571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old-
er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators
657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating
871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu-
177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence
155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a 177 lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling 562 existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of [563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac.*" (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject.

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old —a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong —neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is definitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, concerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade territory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in-law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I believe, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

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ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side, white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and everything connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they interpret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the

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government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Making an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

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ground. One end of the bone, thrust through the flesh, gouged into 000
the dirt.

His partner carried Jim into the line shack, broke out a bottle of whiskey to calm him down, and proceeded to set the bone. First he washed the protruding bone in soapsuds made from a bar of yellow laundry soap—the only soap or disinfectant they had. Then, slipping one boot off, the amateur bone-setter put his heel in Jim's crotch and pulled the bone back in place. He tore up a cotton blanket into strips, wound strips of the blanket around pieces of wood from a goods box, put one splint under the leg and one on the opposite side from the wound caused by the bone, and bound them in place with other strips of the blanket.

As nearly as Jim remembers, the wound stopped bleeding and was not bandaged. But Jim wasn't too sure from here on; he was paying closer attention to the whiskey bottle.

His companion put the rest of the whiskey and a bucket of water by the head of Jim's bunk and set out for the ranch. The rancher sent a cowboy for the doctor, and they laid a mattress in a lumber wagon and started for the line shack. There Jim was lifted onto the mattress, and the long, slow, rough trip to the ranch began. The doctor met them on the way. It was night, but he examined the leg by the light of a kerosene lantern. Aside from adding more splints and telling them not to stint on the whiskey, he okayed the job, and the trip to the ranch was resumed.

The doc told them he didn't know anything that was better to clean a wound than laundry soap. Jim was left with a slight impediment in his walk, as if the one leg was a bit shorter than the other. It was a good enough leg for him to serve long years on the police force, in various capacities. He was finally retired because of advanced age.

Time must have been an element in saving Albert. Here was a 177
tramp cowboy faced with a job which would tax the resources of the receiving room of an outstanding modern hospital. He had to complete his job before dark, as the only available light would have been a kerosene lantern with a number one wick. Whatever help he could receive would come from Jim and Earny. All instructions to Jim must 191
be relayed through Earny. The instructions must be reduced to language Earny could understand before he could relay them to Jim. Earny was a good interpreter, an unusually bright boy for his age; but

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after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory content in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.